

Message Text

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT PARA 6)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM TOON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, IS, US, XF, UN

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH RABIN

1. I MET WITH RABIN IN JERUSALEM AT 1930 SUNDAY. PRIME MINISTER GAVE ME FULL RUNDOWN ON CABINET MEETING EARLIER IN DAY. AS AGREED AT OUR NEW YEAR'S DAY MEETING, RABIN BRIEFED CABINET ON US POSITION, REFLECTING ACCURATELY POINTS SET FORTH PRESIDENT'S LETTER BUT PORTRAYING THEM AS CONVEYED ORALLY BY AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL US-ISRAELI ISSUES, INCLUDING UPCOMING RABIN VISIT AS WELL AS SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. (ACCORDING TO RABIN, ONLY ALLON OF CABINET IS PRIVY TO PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND EVEN DINITZ IS NOT INFORMED.)

2. CABINET, RABIN SAID, HAD ENDORSED HIS RECOMMENDATIONS ON MANDATE FOR ALLON AND STRATEGY FOR JAN. 12 SC MEETING UNANIMOUSLY AND WITHOUT DEBATE. RABIN THEN HANDED ME PAPER SETTING FORTH IN INFORMAL ENGLISH TRANSLATION (BY PRIME MINISTER'S STAFF) DECISIONS ADOPTED. TEXT FOLLOWS:

3. BEGIN TEXT

A. THE CABINET REITERATES ITS DECISION CONCERNING THE URGENT NEED TO ADVANCE THE EFFORTS FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A JUST AND

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LASTING PEACE BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL.

B. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL STANDS READY TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS WITH EACH OF THE NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES WITH THE PURPOSE OF CONCLUDING PEACE TREATIES.

C. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL REITERATES AND DETERMINES THAT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 OF NOV. 22, 1967 AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338 OF OCT. 22, 1973, AS THEY WERE ACCEPTED BY ISRAEL, CONSTITUTE THE EXCLUSIVE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE IN THE AREA. ISRAEL WILL OPPOSE AND WILL NOT ACQUIESCE IN ANY CHANGE, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, IN THESE RESOLUTIONS.

D. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DETERMINES ONCE MORE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON PEACE MUST BE CONDUCTED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES WITHIN AGREED FRAMEWORKS WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING PEACE AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE PARTIES. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OPPOSES ANY INTENT TO REMOVE NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY OF THE PARTIES AND TRANSFER THEM TO THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL OR TO ANY OTHER ORGANS NOT AGREED UPON BY THE PARTIES.

E. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL CALLS FOR PROGRESS IN THE PEACE EFFORTS OF THE REGION AND FOR THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LETTER OF INVITATION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS OF DEC. 18, 1973 FOR THE PURPOSE OF DELIBERATING, IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN AGREED AGENDA ON ALL MATTERS REQUIRING SOLUTION SO AS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL.

F. THE CABINET WILL ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE KNESSET DECISION OF NOV. 10, 1975 WHICH STATES THAT: "THE ORGANIZATION CALLING ITSELF PLO IS A FRAMEWORK OF MURDER GROUPS WHOSE DECLARED PURPOSE IS THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL. ISRAEL WILL NOT CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS WITH TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN ANY FORUM, AND WILL NOT PARTICIPATE AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IF REPRESENTATIVES OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS ARE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE."

G. THE CABINET DECISION OF DEC. 12, 1975 REMAINS VALID. IT DETERMINES IN THE WAKE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 381 OF NOV. 30, 1975 THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT COOPERATE WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE PLANNED SESSION ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE INVITATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS TO THAT SESSION. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THAT DECISION, NO ISRAEL REPRESENTATIVE WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE

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SECURITY COUNCIL SESSION SCHEDULED TO BEGIN JAN, 12, 1976 IF A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PLO TAKES PART.

H. THE MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOLLOWING THE SIGNATURE OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT, IS DESIGNED TO ADVANCE THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE. ACCEPTANCE OF RESOLUTIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT RUN COUNTER TO WHAT WAS AGREED UPON IN THE MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT ARE LIABLE TO HARM SERIOUSLY THE

PROCESSES AND POSSIBILITIES OF ADVANCEMENT TOWARDS PEACE.
THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS CONFIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE UNITED STATES WILL, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, GIVE EFFECT TO
WHAT WAS AGREED UPON IN THE MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT AND
WILL OPPOSE THE ACCEPTANCE OF ANY RESOLUTION THAT CONTRADICTS IT.
END TEXT

4. RABIN THEN SAID HE WISHED MAKE TWO POINTS BEYOND CABINET
DECISIONS WHICH HE HOPED I WOULD CONVEY TO WASHINGTON. FIRST,
PRIME MINISTER IS CONCERNED THAT ANOTHER SYRIAN-SOVIET VICTORY
(NOV. 30 RESOLUTION BEING THE FIRST) WOULD MEAN FOR ISRAELIS END
OF PROMISING POLICY COURSE SYMBOLIZED BY SINAI II AND THUS A
DISASTER FOR ISRAEL, US, AND POSSIBLY EGYPT; ISRAEL WOULD THEN
CONSIDER ITSELF NO LONGER BOUND BY PAST OBLIGATIONS AND FREE TO
PURSUE ALL POLICY OPTIONS. US, RABIN SAID MUST BE UNDER NO
ILLUSIONS ON THIS SCORE.

5. SECONDLY, FOR ISRAELIS, A SYRIAN-SOVIET VICTORY IN JAN. 12 MEETING
WOULD BE ASSURED INTER ALIA BY A RESOLUTION REFERRING TO LEGITIMATE
INTERESTS OF PALESTINIANS OR ANY OTHER FORMULA EMBODYING SIMILAR
CONCEPT. THIS, IN RABIN'S VIEW WHICH HE IS SURE HAS FULL SUPPORT
OF CABINET, WOULD LEAD DIRECTLY TO PLO PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS
SINCE "OTHER SIDE" WOULD SAY ONLY PLO AUTHORIZED SPEAK FOR
PALESTINIANS AND THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS.

6. AFTER READING CABINET DECISIONS AND HEARING RABIN OUT, I
SAID IT SEEMED TO ME THAT ISRAELI POSITION AS RIGID AS EVER AND,
DESPITE PRESIDENT'S APPEAL FOR MORE REASONABLE POSTURE, CABINET
DECISION ALMOST EXACTLY PARALLELED RABIN'S DEC. 16 LETTER. RABIN
CONCEDED THIS WAS SUBSTANTIALLY SO ALTHOUGH HE RECALLED THAT IN
HIS LETTER HE HAD NOT MENTIONED GENEVA CONFERENCE OPTION.
REFERRING TO HIS ORAL POINTS, I TOLD RABIN HE COULD NOT REASONABLY
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EXPECT THE US TO OPPOSE A RESOLUTION EMBODYING LANGUAGE ALREADY
ENUNCIATED AS US POLICY--E.G. VLADIVOSTOK COMMUNIQUE; HOW COULD
WE RATIONALIZE SUCH A POSTURE TO THE CONGRESS, OUR PUBLIC AND
OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES ABROAD? RABIN CONCEDED THIS WOULD NOT BE
EASY, BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN A COMMUNIQUE OR A POLICY STATEMENT AND AN OPERATIVE
SC RESOLUTION, EVEN IF LANGUAGE SHOULD BE THE SAME.

7. I TOLD RABIN I HAD UNEASY FEELING THAT WE AND ISRAELIS
INEVITABLY ON COLLISION COURSE IF CABINET DECISIONS ARE UNALTERABLE
AS HIS REMARKS SEEMED INDICATE. WHILE AS ALWAYS ALLON WOULD
BE WARMLY WELCOMED IN WASHINGTON, I FELT IN ALL HONESTY
PROSPECT OF FRUITFUL DISCUSSIONS WERE VERY DIM INDEED. RABIN
SAID ALLON, OF COURSE, WOULD BE FREE DISCUSS ALL ISSUES RELATED
TO SC MEETING BUT HE WOULD BE LESS THAN FRANK IF HE, RABIN, WERE

TO HOLD OUT ANY PROMISE OF A CHANGE IN CABINET DECISIONS
ADOPTED TODAY. FOR ISRAEL, HE SAID, IT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL THAT
SYRIANS BE DENIED ANY FURTHER SUCCESSES.
TOON

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